5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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actually has provided the Orokaiva with a reliable and substantial cash income for some years. This is true to a very minor extent for the third cash crop promoted on a major scale, copra, which was grown especially near the coast. The coffee is processed and sent to a co-operative factory as parchment, for which purpose many villages own one or more hullers. Copra is supposed to be dried in driers built in the villages, but the one I saw in Inonda had broken down and seems unlikely to be repaired.

Clothing. The traditional Orokaiva costume was a skirt for women and a perineal band for men (Williams 1930: 32–4). Boys went naked until some time before puberty, girls until after puberty seclusion. These garments were made of barkcloth obtained from trees which were mostly grown in gardens for this purpose. Larger garments were used for wrapping round the shoulders in cold weather, and also for shrouds. This mode of dress was abandoned in the 1950s, so that today the Orokaiva buy their clothes almost entirely from trade stores and at mission bazaars. Traditional dress is used for dances, initiation ceremonies and other special occasions. For this reason bark-cloth trees (such as the *ajimo*) are found rather infrequently in gardens today. Bark-cloth is still being painted with decorations in traditional style and with a mixture of traditional and trade dyes.

Housing. Villages are in flat clearings where the grass is kept scrupulously cut and from which the women regularly sweep away rubbish. Houses (*bande*) are built in two facing rows, each house normally being occupied by one nuclear family. The roof of sago thatch slopes down from a central ridgepole. Wall construction has been in various styles since Australian contact, but today vertically set sago-branch midribs are becoming old fashioned in some areas and vertically laid shingles, about 6 ft. by 5⅛ ins., are being adopted in villages desiring to show they are tuned in to modern life. A great number of tree species must be used for the various parts of the house. Materials are taken as much as possible from reverted gardens which contain small trees. For a number of purposes large trees with trunks of high-quality slow-growing wood are considered essential. These trees have to be obtained from areas of bush much older than the usual reverted gardens. On the Mount Lamington foothills, such areas are very scarce. Trees of this quality tend to be the subject of gift exchange as between families, a subject to be discussed below.

Though it is each man's responsibility to build his own house, it is usual to call on helpers, especially sons, brothers and brothers-in-law, to help with construction. Recent changes in house construction include the increasing use of nails, though not for flooring; a remarkable increase in house sizes; the change in wall construction already mentioned, and a number of measures to 'improve' hygiene: lavatories, rubbish holes, pens for chickens, windows. The windows, an innovation promoted by the government to combat tuberculosis, are considered too uncomfortable in cold, wind or rain. Accordingly, they are always covered over with pieces of timber which can be removed if the patrol officer insists.[6]

Bachelors' houses (*oro*) are of precisely the same size and construction as the ordinary *bande*. The more prominent men of the village build themselves small meeting platforms, covered with a roof but lacking walls, for the entertainment of visitors (*aruru*). In the gardens, we find small houses with an earth floor, no walls, but a platform just below roof level. People sit in these garden houses

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 251

511 Only one man owns a mosquito net and there is only one transistor
[207] radio in the village. Some of the older people still wear tapa
291 cloths but new ones are seldom made now. The more common form of
178 dress is a pair of shorts, a skirt or a laplap, the skirts being
[177] mostly sewn at mothers' union sewing classes run by the Anglican mission at Sasembata.

Two men in the sample own shotguns, costing $58.75 and $59.75.
411 These are the only items in the village representing large capital
[435] outlays and several other men had made contributions of $2 and $6 towards their purchase, so they can borrow them in return.

None of the houses conforms to the traditional Orokaiva style,
342 but all are built wholly of local materials. They contain no
178 raised platforms for sleeping, no shelves for food storage, and no cooking facilities other than an open fire. One man has built a 'kitchen extension' to his house while several other households cook primarily in shelters outside. Also, one man has built a simple table and bench outside and some members of the household occasionally eat at this.

312 A creek running beside the village provides the water for bath-
487 ing, cooking, laundering, washing dishes and pulping coffee. Paths are narrow and unimproved despite constant use so that they become difficult to negotiate in wet weather. Not all households have
514 pit latrines and those that do only use them irregularly. Small children often defecate on the village surrounds and standing water in various parts is a further health hazard.

Inonda

133 Inonda lands run from the low plains (200 feet above sea level),
134 beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers, into the foothills of the Hydrographers Range. They include a variety of landforms, soils and vegetation - one-third of the village lands are covered with soils of the Popondetta family, which are well-drained sandy loam volcanic soils, supporting grasslands of Saccharum spontaneum-Imperata cylindrica alliance; one-fifth consists of coarse-textured riverine deposits which are moist, apparently fertile and support forest and regrowth. These are preferred for food gardens, although gardens are also made on the lower valley slopes of the Hydrographers, where the soils consist of well-drained clay loams covered with dense forest or secondary growth. The soils of the foothills are shallow and stony, supporting lower montane rainforest and, as with
[311] the grasslands, this area is used only for hunting and foraging. The CSIRO survey classifies most of the Inonda lands as having moderate land-use potential.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

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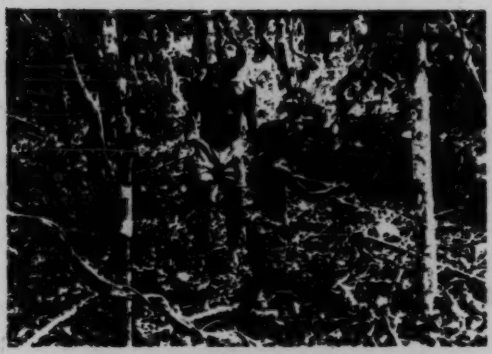

Plate 5. Men are responsible for the initial clearing of a new garden site. Boys acquire the appropriate skills by assisting their elders.

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Plate 6. Women are responsible for the final preparation of the garden site prior to planting. Here, following an initial burn, the debris is being piled around the tree stumps and larger timbers to burn them a second time.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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Plate 7. Women spend many hours making string bags.

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Plate 8. Men from Inonda and Moscu villages repairing a large fishing net preparatory to an all-night fishing expedition.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

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Plate 11. Taro, pigmeat, areca, rice and tinned fish on display in Inonda prior to presentation to a Girua settler.

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Plate 12. Stalls at Popondetta market, where people from Inonda frequently sell their produce.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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Plate 13. Pulping coffee in the creek at Sivepe.

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Plate 14. Collecting latex in the communal rubber plantation at Sivepe. Most of the mature trees are badly scarred by incorrect tapping.

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[516]

Yega Scheme cocoa blocks looking N.W., January 1963.

Yega workers resting under shade trees. Cocoa trees 18 months old, February 1962.

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[291]
[439]
[415]

Harvesting cocoa pods, July 1964.

Selling wet cocoa beans to fermentary representative, July 1964.

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Gona villages co-operative store. Calculation of shareholders' rebates, December 1962.

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Gona villages co-operative store at Cape Killerton.

purchases. In this way the shareholders obtained additional rebate benefits. In general, however, sales to non-shareholders correlated fairly closely with the presence or absence of small coastal trading vessels at the wharf.

Most of the buying at the store was done by men. There were no women shareholders, but wives and daughters used their husbands' and fathers' share numbers when purchasing goods.[1] The men were discriminating buyers and a man who had walked some miles to the store to buy a specific item would usually stand for a while surveying the goods displayed and asking a question or two about prices. After the purchase was made, usually of only one or two items, the buyer left the store, but usually stopped to chat at Surilai village on the northern side of the store before going home.

An analysis made of the spending patterns of a group of 27 Yega shareholders over a two-year period (January 1961-December 1962) showed that of a total expenditure of $1148, 49 per cent was spent on food (mainly tinned meat, tinned fish, rice and sugar), 11 per cent on tobacco, 11 per cent on clothing, 7 per cent on kitchen utensils, 3 per cent on garden tools and 17 per cent on miscellaneous items including torches, soft drinks, kerosene, matches, fishing gear, etc.

The most sought after foods were those with high protein content - tinned meats and fish. Only one bicycle (costing $52) was sold during the two years surveyed. The low rate of spending on garden tools is noteworthy, considering the importance of gardening in the Yega economy; but axes and bush knives were carefully guarded and, being very durable they needed only occasional replacement.

Almost every Yega child over six years of age and every adult of both sexes owned at least one item of European-type clothing. On working days, cotton skirts were worn by the girls and women, and shorts or cotton loin cloths by the men, but tapa (bark cloth) skirts were preferred by the adolescent girls and tapa boavo (bark loin cloth) by the older men for Sunday wear. Most people preferred to purchase their clothing requirements from the wider range available in the larger Popondetta stores rather than from the co-operative.

Retail trading showed a remarkable increase from 1961-2 to 1962-3. The turnover doubled during the financial year but a fall-off in trade of about 12½ per cent occurred in 1963-4. This situation probably resulted from lower spending by Yega shareholders,

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[1] In the course of six or seven visits to the store I can recall only once having seen a woman at the counter.

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Bride and groom outside the organizer's house on the morning of the first day of the bride-wealth exchange

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Transferring the cash

[p. 80]

353 *tapa* cloths, also worn on ceremonial occa-
[415] sions; often nowadays mother's best dress and father's best shorts and shirt are also kept in this box. Everyday tools—fishing spears, pig spear, bush knife, and axe—are stored between the floor joists under the floor platform. A
[302] bundle of dry firewood may be stored under the house in case of a prolonged spell of wet
[227] weather. The dwelling of each clan fishing-leader is easily recognized by the large seine net hung to dry under the eaves or rolled in a corner of the verandah.

342 The Yega build one other form of dwelling, a garden shelter (*dobo*) usually roughly constructed with leaf walls, frequently open at one end and often so low from floor to roof that a person cannot stand erect in it. A *dobo* is a temporary dwelling, built near the swidden in current use, and used by a man and his family for up to a week at a time while they are working in their gardens, which may be three or four miles from the village. The *dobo* is also used to shelter from rain or to take a siesta during shorter, one-day visits to the garden.

343 A *gaga* is simply a talking platform where
[461] men sit for a chat, a chew (of betelnut) or a
[614] smoke during siesta time, or after the day's work is done. There is usually at least one *gaga* for each clan in a village. The *gaga* per-
[627] forms an important social function for it is
[584] here that quarrels are settled, marriages arranged, and the everyday problems and business of the village discussed and finalised.

291 Everyday clothing is a pair of shorts and maybe a shirt or a singlet for boys and men, and a cotton dress or skirt for girls and women.
[289] The traditional body covering for both men and women was beaten out bark-cloth of the
[171] paper mulberry tree. This is used throughout the Pacific and is known as *tapa*. *Tapa* skirts and loin cloths are still worn on special occasions, such as weddings and New Year sing-sings, while many older people wear *tapa* to
323 church on Sundays. The Yega and their neigh-
[289] bours are expert tapa-makers but they did not have either the suitable clay or the art of pot-making. They used to trade their *tapa* for pots
439 from Ambasi, thirty miles to the north, and
[178] from Wanigela, 100 miles to the south. This trade has now declined because everybody can

[P 11-A] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12-A]

177 political and value system modified in only such minor ways that a withdrawal of Australian power at this stage might well lead to a discarding of many of the innovations. Certainly, this is what many of the villagers fear and what makes them distrust any politicians who are pressing for immediate independence.

177 Food: The Orokaiva menu is still basically the same as in the past.
262 Taro forms the mainstay of the meal, with various vegetable relishes, while cooking bananas, sweet potatoes and yams are eaten in significant quantities. Sugar beet, coconut and other nuts supplement the diet.
[263] Animal foods are eaten only on special occasions. It is the festive
[411] diet that has undergone recent changes: trade salt is almost universally used instead of the native product. Fish and game have become rare as a result of the introduction of guns and snorkels. The government pressure against village pig-keeping has resulted in these becoming rarer also. On the other hand, tins of fish and meat are bought in trade stores and may make up for the loss of fresh animal food. Rice is another introduced food, which was first eaten by members of the Papuan constabulary, and distributed on a small scale when the Allies were fighting the Japanese in the Northern District. The first time that a large group of Orokaiva ate rice as a staple diet was during the period in the camps after the eruption. Today, it is a food bought when there are guests or a celebration. It is then eaten as a
[272] side dish, together with taro. Tea and sugar have likewise become
[263] favoured at festive meals. Coffee, the main cash crop of the district, is totally unknown as a beverage; cocoa is likewise unknown, except as a plantation crop.

291 Clothing: At the time of the eruption, traditional clothing was
177 universally worn. European clothing was introduced to the villages in the 1950's by young men returning from employment in town. Today, young and old wear European-type clothing except when doing traditional dances. On one occasion a man dressed in full regalia to settle a quarrel with a neighbouring village. This, I was told, added dignity to his embassy. Men wear shirts and shorts; women wear Mother Hubbard type of skirts and blouses, as well as frocks for dressy occasions. Underclothes are not worn, though the Women's Clubs, encouraged by an Australian adviser, have been trying to introduce them. I was told that in Hohorita masculine opposition against this innovation (underclothes for women and children) was quite violent--they ripped them off. This story, however, came from a woman councillor who was not a member of the Sangara tribe. The men wear shirts only when dressed up; normally they are bare above the waist and many of the women likewise, though some of the younger ones affect blouses a good deal of the time, certainly on formal occasions. The causes of this change are not only practise in the schools and mostly in the churches, but also a rather widespread change of fashion. The Anglican Chruch does not stop women from taking communion if they wear nothing above the waist; the pressure is purely one of fashion.

government driver) had gone there and continued at Martyr's school at Sangara. He survived because the mountain erupted during the school holidays. At Sivepe, some children had started going to the Jasembata school, opened in 1945, but attendance was irregular. Nonetheless, there were few people under 30 in 1966, who had not had some schooling.

Goods such as meat, sugar, tobacco were known in Sivepe at the time of the eruption, and bought in trade stores; some people used European pots and others used clay pots. By 1966, all regular production of clay pots in Sivepe had ended; they were not even included ceremonially in bridewealth. It was always the young men, away on labouring jobs, who introduced the innovations in material culture, who brought their mothers and new wives European pots, who came home flaunting European clothes, who first used nails in building their houses. In Inonda, at the time of the eruption, the young men were already wearing "trousers"; in Sivepe, this came later, at the time of the local government council. In both villages, this same association was stressed: the European cloths were accepted for village wear at the time the council started and the example was set not only by the bachelors returning from town but also by the councillors themselves. There was a councillor resident in both villages in the years immediately following 1956; it was their influence that tipped the balance in dress innovation.

At the time of the eruption, cash cropping had not yet started at all in Sivepe, but at Inonda, one man (the father of the present government driver) was already selling coffee for which he was paid $3 per bag by the government. The government also bought copra from him which he prepared by breaking up coconuts and drying them in a fire. He stopped this trade at the time of the eruption but resumed in 1954. In Sivepe, coffee growing started in 1956 on two "company" plots. It was in other words a community activity rather than a case of individual entrepreneurship. Rimoldi (1966: 84) reports that individual coffee gardens started in 1957 only after patrol officers advised against having jointly operated ones.

It is not easy to say just how much linguistic knowledge had been absorbed before the eruption, or even now. If one asks a man what languages he knows, he lists all those he has had contact with on his travels; always Motu, not infrequently Pidgin, and also often an assortment of New Guinea languages marking the spots where he has worked. Wherever a man works, he learns some of the language, but his knowledge rarely passes exacting tests. Orokaiva men who said they knew Aiga could not actually translate the Aiga texts I taped into Orokaiva. It would be most interesting to do research on the actual knowledge of these Papuan polyglots. In a country where so many languages are spoken, communication between persons with different vernacular is a crucial process. There is no doubt that travelling Orokaiva make a great effort to adapt themselves to the regions they visit. If they have personal contact with their employers, they learn a great deal from them too. From the data I have presented it is plain that travel has been the major acculturative influence among the Orokaiva.

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292 531 The head-dresses (*di*) and ornaments (*hambo*) are themselves artistic creations. A full feather head-dress is composed of some two dozen strands of feathers, each strand consisting of a dozen or more feathers. The strands are carefully made, sometimes from artistically shaped and trimmed feathers, while short down of striking colours may be tied to the tips of feathers. The order and arrangement of the strands making up the headdress is to some extent determined by custom but mainly by the artistic sense of the decorator, who 301 may spend days working out the precise effect he wants. Similarly the *hambo* 531 are often composed of a variety of objects – dog's teeth, shells, pieces of crocodile skin, a special kind of banana seed, for instance. The decorator aims at a pleasing design but is always aware of the effect of the total object as body [778] decoration in relation to the skin, face and body of the wearer. While the objects themselves undoubtedly have magical significance, and much might be discovered about the symbolism of *di* and *hambo*, my informants were far more interested in talking to me about the aesthetics rather than the occult significance of these decorations. I surmise that the magical efficacy is actually thought to inhere in the beauty of these objects rather than in the specific qualities of component parts. Women are as lavishly decorated as men. Though some *hambo* are reserved for males only and others are characteristically female, decorations are usually interchangeable between the sexes.

796 *Music, Dance and Song.* Today the great occasions when body decoration is performed mainly coincide with Christian festivals – Christmas, Easter, and 533 name days of saints. But these dates tend to be close to the festive periods in the 535 traditional Orokaiva calendar. For instance, Easter occurs around the beginning of the traditional feasting season, while Christmas is close to the rituals performed to stimulate the filling out of the taro tubers planted in the period before the rains. It is on these great occasions that the major dance cycles are performed, accompanied by entirely traditional songs and drum music. But 'practising' for these performances proceeds for months before and after Christmas, and again between Easter and the end of June. In Lent, all this is strictly prohibited, for reasons that again go back to taro magic. At any time of the year but this, one hears almost every able-bodied male in the village, from the age of two upwards, practising the dance, with or without the accompaniment of songs, while every village has its original poets who compose new songs every year. Dance 'practices' occur rather frequently, about four times a week in the two months or so before a performance. They tend to start in the early evening and continue until after midnight. Some of the dancers wear a few decorations when practising. But these 'practices' occur only if a large group can be mustered.

535 The Orokaiva mostly dance in pairs one behind the other, forming double file. The pairs always consist of persons of the same sex, men or women, who form more or less permanent partnerships. The dances themselves are described in some detail by Williams (1930: Ch. XIV), whose useful account would be even more valuable if he had not attempted to make up some kind of synthesis of the dance and drama of three somewhat different tribes (Orokaiva, Aiga, Binandere).

In Sivepe there were two dance leaders, one from each of the major clans, who danced as partners. They had the final say about the programme; their body

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improper to eat meat without introducing some element of gift exchange, very much like 'party food' in our own society.

In general, people take any wood they need from their own land. The only record I have of transactions involving wood concerns the obtaining of less common building materials for houses. My informants made a clear distinction between gifts of bush trees and gifts of sago. The former kind create no specific debt but whenever sago is taken a return gift is expected, because, I was told, sago is a cultivated plant.

With regard to feathers and *hambo*, attitudes differ as between areas where raw materials are plentiful and areas where they are rare. On the Mount Lamington foothills they seldom enter the exchange network – perhaps once a generation, during a ceremony of uncommon importance. On the alluvial plains, they are a frequent trade item.[8] Of other items of traditional trade, betelnuts and lime are the most important. Betelnut grows only on the foothills; lime is made of shells collected on the seashore. It was, and is, therefore common to exchange one for the other, as betelnut can be chewed only together with lime and betelnut chewing is as popular a social activity among the Orokaiva as it is throughout New Guinea and Indonesia. A peppery plant called *hingi* (piper betel) is always chewed with the other two ingredients. This again grows best on the hills, so that it is often exchanged with the betelnuts. The alluvial plains are in a poor bargaining position with regard to the betelnut complex as they produce none of the ingredients from their own land. It may be partly for this reason that they are accustomed to accumulating animal products and to using these as objects of trade.

By far the largest number of exchanges take place within a village, only a minority of transactions occurring between members of different village

TABLE II/7

ACQUISITION OF 'HAMBO' AND 'DI'
(*Source*: Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 51; Rimoldi 1966: 80)

	Sivepe		*Inonda*	
	Hambo	*Di*	*Hambo*	*Di*
Inheritance, cash value ($)	48.40	17.60	18.60	5.70
Percentage	53%	40%	17%	12%
Cash Purchase, value ($)	9.30	4.50	36.10	2.00
Percentage	10%	10%	33%	4%
Bride price or other exchanges, value ($)	17.70	6.50	48.30	17.90
Percentage	19%	14%	44%	38%
Made or caught, value ($)	16.60	15.40	5.90	21.10
Percentage	18%	35%	5%	45%
Total, value: ($)	92.00	44.00	108.90	46.70

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incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikuri*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

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tribes (twelve items), including in his list many *hambo* still in common use. Williams (1930) criticised this account on two grounds: some kinds of *otohu* were regularly conferred upon boys and girls at initiation before they had killed anyone, and most of the items listed by Beaver were in fact conferred on such occasions. While Williams did not rule out the use of homicidal emblems, he thought they should be called *esa* rather than *otohu* and provided a short list of such *esa*, i.e. ornaments given exclusively to man-slayers or to men who had slain a wild pig and presented it to the donor of the *esa*.

Williams reserves the term *otohu* for ritual objects used as symbols for ethical notions central to the Orokaiva world view. He thinks that the *otohu* is best understood in the context of boys' and girls' initiation, as conferment most often occurs at the conclusion of initiation ceremonies. In this chapter I shall first summarise Williams' description of the transfer of *otohu* in initiation, and proceed to add some new information which may lead to a clearer understanding of the nature of the *otohu*.

3. *Williams' Account of the Conferment of Otohu*

Orokaiva initiation ceremonies include four main rituals which are, as Williams reports, not always performed in the same order, but the one ceremony he witnessed occurred in the same order as those described to me by informants:

(1) First, initiands are kept in seclusion for some months. Living in a separate house in semi-darkness, they are well-fed, kept warm with a fire, but must not wash. Williams rightly discounts Chinnery and Beaver's account (1915) that initiands are given detailed instruction of a moral nature at this stage. This was denied by my own informants who had themselves been initiated.

(2) A nocturnal dance occurs during which spirits (*embahi*) appear from the bush, assail and frighten the initiands, but are driven off by the initiands' relatives. Chinnery and Beaver (1915) plausibly suggest that this ferocious scene serves the function of instilling 'absolute and lasting terror in the candidates', of obligating them to their relatives who saved them, and of inducing in them 'a receptive and chastened frame of mind' for the instruction that is to follow. The scene is graphically described by Williams.

(3) The next morning initiands are, for the first time in their lives, dressed up in full dancing regalia, after which they make an impressive début at the village dancing ground. The ritual is known as *kogumbari*. It is performed by an expert whose main concern seems to be with the aesthetics of dressing up, and who lends the initiands feathers and ornaments from his own large store. He stands in no particular kin relationship to the initiand and may even be from a different village. (Fathers are excluded.)

(4) If there is a presentation of *otohu* to initiates[3] this is not part of the initiation ritual as such, which occurs immediately after *kogumbari*. The dressed up initiates are 'shown to the people' and take part in a dance called *kuru*, which is described by Williams (1930: 188). The presentation follows this dance.

It begins with a series of speeches by old warriors (*gguma*) who recite their feats of war, their killing of victims. Initiates sit on a row of sticks laid on the ground ('lest through contact with the ground they run the risk of physical deformity'). The donor of the *otohu* (most often the father or mother's brother)

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Mountain Orokaiva

Hence, *otohu* might serve as symbols of high social status whereas *hambo* are less useful in this regard, being worn only intermittently and never with a purely social purpose in mind.

The usefulness of *otohu* as status symbols is further enhanced by the fact that they are transferable from generation to generation. The Member of the House of Assembly for the Northern District told me he always carried his *otohu* with him when meeting his constituents and that he would display it conspicuously attached to his betelnut bag, because a great many people would know this *otohu*: it had belonged to his *epe* who had been a famous war chief and sorcerer. He believed that people in his constituency had great respect for this *otohu*. He made it sound almost as though he was carrying the *insigne* of a hereditary chieftainship, but in fact the basis of his influence was far more complex: it was in part agnatic, in part uterine, and in large part personal. Nonetheless, the *otohu* was obviously very useful to him in establishing new social relations.

Whatever social effect a *hambo* might have would depend mostly on the beauty of its construction and the rarity of its materials. While informants might sometimes think its history and associations worthy of mention, a *hambo's* association with a particular family is usually rather loose, as the right to wear *hambo* of a particular type is never, to my knowledge, restricted to a family. The main effect and power of a *hambo* appears to be aesthetic. It is used to impress partners in a dispute, dancing partners or young women whose passions one hopes to arouse.

Unlike the *otohu*, the *hambo* does not otherwise emphasise the identity of the wearer. One the contrary, a fully decorated person, wearing a head-dress, *hambo* and face-paint, is supposed not to be recognisable as a person. One should on no account address him by name. He represents an *embahi* and, as such, is completely depersonalised. More specifically, the dancer represents a natural species – a pig, a wallaby or, in the case of women, a bird, a butterfly, a flower. The details of these identifications need to be studied more closely. The significance of the decorations is very similar to that of the masks used for dancing in other parts of New Guinea. The face and body become a medium for decorating: the individual assumes the persona of an ancestor; his private existence is covered over to display only his social function.

This total lack of personal identity inherent in the *hambo* makes the object easily transferable from one individual to another. it always belongs essentially to the ancestors and is thus alive with spirit. By transferring it to another, a man emphasises that he and the recipient share some link with the spirit world and this implies amity, the primeval absence of strife. It also probably implies in some way the message of the sacred flutes by which man's contact with the spirit world is established. Further research no doubt will enable us to be more precise about the meaning of these transactions. They occur in a great many social contexts: *hambo* are given away to settle a quarrel, to pay bridewealth, to establish and maintain an important friendship. They are frequently lent to persons about to dance at a feast, and a gift of meat is then required from the borrower. They are lent by the *kogumbari* expert for a similar consideration, and are also bartered and sold. Some people, and not always the most prominent, make large collections of them, and most people of rank have a good store of them, as they are a necessary part of the ceremonial gift exchange system. From

£2.90 by 16 relatives of the host's eldest daughter's husband (the one who had not been able to pay bride-wealth at the time of his marriage).[1] The latter 16 relatives came from four different villages. All but one of the total of 64 contributors of cash came from villages other than Inonda.

Contributors came from eight different localities within a range of 16 miles. There were also approximately 70 other adults who attended but did not eat or contribute. Some were from this village but the majority came from other villages in the vicinity. There were also some 30 or so children present who were not included above.

The majority of the persons present attended because of their residence in neighbouring communities and claimed no kinship links with the hosts. In earlier times, informants say, it would have been unusual for persons to attend a feast unless they were linked to the hosts by ties of kinship, marriage, or residence in the same village. Moreover, they claim, even in pre-war days it was unusual for persons from so far afield to attend a relatively small personal feast. Cash payment, it appears, is becoming an acceptable substitute for kinship links as a qualification to attend certain ceremonies.

Transfers of property at this feast differed markedly from those in feasts of the traditional type. Firstly, the food was contributed by a more restricted group, and was consumed not by all, but only by those who paid. Secondly, cash was given in place of traditional valuables (feather head-dresses, shells, arm-bands, necklaces, etc.); and thirdly, there was no reciprocal exchange for the whole of the cash was retained by the host who apparently does not acknowledge any obligation to give reciprocal help to those who brought cash, though he does recognize such an obligation to those who brought food.

In this village many of the older people wear only loin cloths made of tapa, but at the feast all but four men wore imported clothing. The four who did not were older men who remained in the shadows. A few men wore cotton lap-laps, but the majority wore short trousers. All but three wore shirts - an item of clothing that is rarely seen in the village. Quite a number wore plastic sandals, though the majority were barefooted. All the women wore cotton skirts and blouses, though in their daily work an in festivals of the traditional type they almost never wear any garment above the waist. Four young men were daubed with face powder and one wore a spring of leaves in his hair. There were no other personal adornments. At taro festivals today, and at marriages, funerals and

[1] See p.74.

other rites which are still based largely on traditional precedents, tapa cloths, arm-bands, necklaces and head-dresses are de rigeur, but informants stated that a birthday party was different, as it was a European institution. 574 292 177

The language most frequently used was Pidgin as most of the labourers came from various parts of New Guinea, but the local people spoke between themselves in Orokaiva. Police Motu, the official lingua franca of Papua, was heard quite frequently and the notice about donations was written in that language. While the non-Orokaiva people conversed freely in lingua franche, the less prominent of the Orokaiva people kept largely to themselves. 574 191 198

The only indigenous musical instrument present was a single drum, but it was not played. When asked why there were not more drums, those present expressed mild contempt for them and explained that there would be guitars. All the music, which continued almost nonstop from dusk on Saturday until daylight Sunday, was provided by six or eight guitars owned and played by the indentured labourers present. There were no skilled guitarists, and the band merely strummed a basic rhythm which changed little during the course of the evening. The repertoire of songs was not extensive and most were repeated many times. All of them were either popular Western or modern Polynesian tunes, some sung to Pidgin words, other to English words and a few to Orokaiva words. 574 534 574 533

Most of the young men danced, some of them almost constantly, but very few knew any pattern of steps. The majority were attempting to dance modern style Polynesian dancing which had been learned indirectly from the Samoan, Cook Island and Tongan missionaries who served along the south coast of Papua (though not in the Orokaiva area). The one man who could perform a particular Samoan men's dance quite well had learned it directly from a Samoan missionary several years ago. Some individuals tried to dance traditional Orokaiva steps but were not particularly successful owing to the foreign nature of the music. Several men from New Guinea attempted ballroom dancing which they had seen performed by Europeans in New Guinea, and in films. 574 535 [177]

Of a total of approximately 130 adults present, only about 20 were women. While the discrepancy was partly accounted for by the number of male contract labourers, most of the relatives of the hosts who attended were also men. Few of the settlers or other visitors brought their wives (unless the latter had relatives at Inonda). The cooking was done by a group of five women, while the others remained in the shadows. 574 562

The music and entertainment were almost exclusively the prerogative of the men. No woman joined the band of guitarists and singers at any time, and none attempted to dance until about 10 p.m. [533] [535]

583 and leaves which irritates the skin. This was accompanied by general merriment. It was said to be a tradition, though the people gave no explanation of its significance. The women chattered together while they prepared and cooked taro, and most men sat in the shade-house chewing betel and talking. The groom and the organizer collected firewood and erected a temporary [292] shelter of coconut fronds adjacent to the shade-house. From [302] 9.30 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. some of the groom's close female kin dressed the bride, decorating her with traditional ornaments, fastening a bark-cloth sarong around her and spraying her hair with fresh coconut oil. The groom's supporters expected the bride's father and his party to arrive at Hohota at midday. When they did not, the waiting group became restless.

The bride's father had summoned the people who were to share the bride-wealth to his house to discuss the attitude they would adopt towards the contributing party when the two groups met at Hohota. They decided to irritate the groom's supporters by [292] delaying and did not arrive until 3.00 p.m. As they approached the organizer's house, a man dressed in bark-cloth and ornaments and carrying a spear emerged from amongst them. A similarly attired man advanced from the organizer's party, who rose to their feet. The two men faced each other about thirty yards apart and, brandishing their spears, repeatedly rushed at each other and retreated for approximately five minutes.[1] During this time the bride's father's party moved quietly towards the organizer's house and the two groups sat on the ground outside.

[292] Apart from the bride and the two men carrying spears, people [301] wore normal clothing, although some had armbands and necklaces which may have been specially donned for the occasion.

The bride's father, who remained standing, asked whether the bride-wealth was ready. The organizer replied that it would not be ready until the bride's father sat down. This clearly offended him and tension quickly mounted in both groups. An argument broke out and climaxed when two of the groom's supporters accused the bride's father of setting an unreasonably high price and of lacking generosity by refusing to reduce it when the groom's father died. Thoroughly aroused, the bride's father shouted that he would not accept the payment, that he would take his daughter and in high dudgeon stalked off. The bride's brother supported him by returning $3.00 which had been given as part of the kina. Three people who each contributed $2.00 to the main payment withdrew the money during the dispute.

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1 Williams (1930:141) notes that a similar manoeuvre, asu, which involved many supporters of bride and groom, was 'highly characteristic' of bride-wealth transfers in the 1920s.

Ornament	Where worn	Description	Assessed cash value
Parasi	Neck and hangs on chest	Made of brass from army dump or from tooth brush handle	5/-
Hono	Held in teeth and hangs on chest	Made of two large pigs' tusks	5/-
Poino (saima)	Head	Made of white sea-shells	5/-
Perere (keri)	Neck	White seashells	4/-
Hau (kuri)	Neck and hangs on chest	Large seashell beads	4/-
Sipe	Neck and sides	Made of silvery sea-shells	4/-
Simba	Head	Seashells	4/-
Ori	Neck	Seashells	4/-
Jaja	Head	Seashells	4/-
Matajo	Belt	Made of string and seashells	2/-
Sara	Head	Seashells	2/-
Erumo	Hangs from shoulder	Made of several sea-shells	2/-
Paho	Held in teeth	Large seashells	2/-
Hura	Forehead	Seashells	2/-
Sapi	Neck	Unknown	2/-
Sameme	Arm	Arm band made of trochus shell	2/-
Feather head-dresses (di) in descending order of value			
Samba (rokou)	Head	Bird of Paradise feathers	10/-

Head-dress	Where worn	Description	Assessed cash value
Ungaijawo	Head	Rare mountain parrot	5/-
Homboru	"	Cassowary feathers (dark)	2/-
Usege	"	Cassowary feathers (yellowish green)	2/-
Tuna	"	?	-
Suni	"	Red parrot	-
Waiwa	"	Small red parrot	-
Agena	"	White cockatoo	-
Pijama	"	White feathers from hornbills' tails	-
Koro (waja)	"	Black feathers from hornbills' wings	-
Peremo	"	Hornbills' beaks	-
Guvero	"	?	-
Pupu	"	?	-
Borongo	"	?	-
Kombu	"	?	-
Amone	"	?	-
Karenga	"	Large blue parrot	-
Kahu	"	?	-
Gere	"	?	-
Kaumba	"	?	-
Hoiroi	"	?	-
Sara	"	Mixture of various feathers	-
Asigi	"	?	-
Suni	"	?	-

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

III

The above outline of the glories of *hanke* and the pains of *tihanga* present a model remarkably like Sahlins's 'balanced exchange', but drawn from what one might call Orokaiva ethnosociology. This Orokaiva model is, however, no more than a first lesson in reciprocity. My informants, immediately after telling and explaining the Javaite Poromo tale, proceeded to a second lesson on what they considered a slightly more advanced level. This was prefaced by: 'I should like to tell you why we tell the story of Javaite Poromo'. It soon turned into the recounting of another myth, complete with commentaries and explanations.

A handsome young man came to a village, married a girl but instead of taking her to a village, he took her deeper and deeper into the bush. It turned out that he was, in fact, a pig who had merely disguised himself as a man for the visit to the village. They lived in the bush where she had a son from him who was a white cockatoo (*agena*). As the pig, together with his friends, now wished to kill the woman, she took refuge, with her son, on a *peromba* tree. When the pigs proceeded to try and uproot the *peromba* tree the mother sent her son to her native village with a message. When he returned, the pigs had almost uprooted the tree, but they fled safely, the mother in the son's beak. As they arrived, the mother warned her kinsmen to expect the pig shortly.

When the pig arrives, he is fully and impressively decorated as before—the tale mentions specifically his fine tapa cloth, his *ganda*, his pineapple club, his headdress of red cockatoo feathers, his shield. The kinsmen convey him to a platform with ceremonial greetings appropriate to a visiting affine, fall upon him with spears, cut him into small pieces and eat him.

The commentary given by informants briefly shows the link between this tale and the question of reciprocity. It was by the killing of the pig, informants said, that the present relationship between pig and man was at last established—they kill us; we kill them; they are given to the land for us to eat. This is in contrast with relations between men, based on mutual visits and friendship. This contrast between pig/man and man/man relationships is not in the body of the text, but its relevance was pointed out to me by the two informants.

It will be fully clear to any initiated Orokaiva why this tale explains the principle of reciprocity. It is also probably quite clear to any trained anthropologist. I think, however, that I am obliged to offer a translation into western jargon. The tale is not for children but, it is implied, for initiated men, i.e. those who have a knowledge of spirits. Uninitiated people think that the strange decorated figures one sees at certain ceremonials are spirits, because they have the plumes of birds, the paint of the dead and the bone and shell ornaments of the ancestors. This is not so; these figures are all men disguised as spirits and ancestors. These disguises ought to be so perfect that the person beneath them is not recognisable. In any case, if anyone recognises them, it would be very rude to make this known. They must be respected in every way as though they were the ancestors they represent. The initiated, however, know that the living man and the ancestor are both present in the decorated man.